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LECTURE LXXXIV.

THE PHILIPPINES.

Introductory. The gallant stand of MacArthur in the BATAAN PENINSULA keeping a fierce enemy at bay from week to week, while the great nations are arming, has naturally focussed the attention of the world on the PHILIPPINES group of Islands in the Pacific—the home of a thriving, peaceful people. There is no doubt that when the history of these troublous times comes to be written, while the blackest page will be reserved for Japanese treachery, a place of honour will be assigned to the great military stand that the Filipinos are now making.

It is to help to a proper understanding of this country and these people that the following cultural study is presented.

A Multitude of Islands. War, it has been said, is an efficient teacher of geography; and the present Armageddon, with its world-wide ramifications and almost universal sweep, has fully maintained that reputation. Most of the literate among us, for instance, might casually remember that the PHILIPPINES are a large Archipelago in the Pacific Ocean, that they were discovered about the Middle Ages and now belong to the U. S. A.

But it takes a World-war—or a competitive examination—to find out that the Archipelago consists of more than 7,000 islands (7,083 to be accurate), that LUZON, the largest among them (with its capital MANILA) has an area of 40,814 sq. miles, that there are ten other islands, namely, MINDANAO, SAMAR, NEGROS, PALAWAN, PANAY, MINDORO, LEYTE, CEBU, BOHOL, and MASBATE, with areas over 1,000 sq. miles each, that 450 more of these islands are little more than a sq. mile each and only about 2,500 of these have any names at all.

The Pacific. We might bear in mind also that the Pacific Ocean is the largest and deepest ocean in the world; covering half the world's surface and twice the size of the Atlantic. It was discovered in 1521 by the explorer, Magellan, who called it the Pacific or 'Shanta Samudram' because he found it calm, but has now been converted, alas, by Japanese perfidy, into a savage scene of war.

The people. The Filipinos are a people of great antiquity. Ethnologically they form almost a museum, belonging as they do to more than 40 ethnographic groups and 80 different tribes. There are undoubted traces of Hindu influence reaching back to the early centuries of the Christian era. There are also reliable Chinese accounts of commercial voyages during the 10th and 13th centuries.

The inhabitants of the PHILIPPINES are of Malay race, with a great deal of Spanish and Chinese blood in them, more especially in the North and Central islands. In the interior of the larger islands there are Negritos who are possibly aboriginal. The Malay population consists of over 20 tribes which entered the country in successive waves of immigration, the latest wave being that of the largely Muslim Moros.

Ninety per cent of the Filipinos belong to the Catholic faith, in which they have been nourished since the days of the Spanish conquest in the early part of the 17th century.

The ubiquitous Chinese are to be found here also. Retail trade and some wholesale business is in their adroit hands. Between 1926 and 1935 the annual rate of Chinese immigration averaged 8,000.

In recent years Japanese immigration has been pushed forward especially in the province of DAVAO, the south-east part of MINDANAO,

In 1939 they numbered nearly 18,000 in DAVAO. In the whole country it is estimated that there are about 30,000. They employ about 10,000 Philippine labourers.

A large part of the fishing industry is in Japanese hands, and the knowledge of navigation that they have gained in these waters is a debit item in the defences of the PHILIPPINES. They have some mining interests but room for mischief here has been curtailed by statutory safeguards.

Occupation, Trade & Industry. Agriculture is the main occupation; and about 56 per cent of the national income is derived from it. Rice is the largest crop, and staple food. The chief exports are sugar, tobacco, hemp, cocoanut, timber, gold and embroidery, the imports being cotton and cotton goods, iron, steel, silk, wheat, coal and paper. The only large-scale industries are sugar-refining, hemp-cording, cement making, cigar and cigarette manufacture. The total population, according to the census of 1936 was 14, 731, 371 (now about 16 million).

Their History. It was the English naval historian, Richard Hakluyt, who wrote long ago that "Geographie and chronologie are the sunne and the moone, the right eye and left eye of all history"; and to appreciate current events in their true perspective, we have to understand history in its proper setting as the science of human endeavour through the ages, "the voice for ever resounding across the centuries the laws of right and wrong".

The dawn of the 16th century marked an important stage in Philippine history. Early in 1519, the famous Portuguese navigator, Ferdinand Magellan, then in the service of SPAIN, set off with five ships across the Atlantic to seek a passage to the FAR EAST. After a year of toil and search, he discovered the Strait now called after his name. But he had lost two ships, and had to undergo many difficulties before he entered the Pacific Ocean and discovered the PHILIPPINES. The sailors had to live on rotten biscuits, salted leather and rats, and Magellan himself was killed in the PHILIPPINES. Ultimately one ship "*the Victoria*" struggled home round the CAPE and reached SPAIN. Magellan's voyage was of special interest from another point of view also—it was the first circumnavigation of the World, the first definite proof that the earth was a sphere.

The Spanish Occupation. About half a century later, in 1565, SPAIN undertook the regular conquest of the islands. It was then that they were given their present name after Philip II, King of SPAIN. In June 1572, MANILA was formally established. Five years later, Sir Francis Drake, the Great Elizabethan explorer visited the islands. During this period, PORTUGAL also advanced some claims, which however lapsed by the union of SPAIN and PORTUGAL in 1580.

In 1762, during the Seven Years' War, a British expedition reached the PHILIPPINES and captured MANILA, but by the Treaty of PARIS of 1763, MANILA was restored to SPAIN. In 1766, the Spanish Government allowed direct trade between SPAIN and MANILA; and from 1785 regular trade was carried on by the Royal Company of the PHILIPPINES. In 1809, an English firm was allowed to establish itself in MANILA, and in 1837 MANILA was reopened to foreign trade. However, during the first half of the 19th century, there were only about 2 to 5 thousand Spaniards in the Archipelago.

Contact with Europe: National Movements. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, matters improved. Many young Filipinos took advantage of the facilities offered, and travelled to SPAIN and other countries to study. Two newspapers "*La Esperanza*" and "*La Solidaridad*" were started. Meanwhile there was an ebullition of national feeling and revolts broke out. A Nationalist Leader, Rizal organised a "Young Filipino Party", and established the Liga Filipino at HONG-KONG and MANILA. But in 1896, he was captured and punished. In the meantime another organisation called "the Supreme Worshipful Association of the Sons of the People" sprang up.

America Takes Over. The next important event was the outbreak of war between the U.S.A. and SPAIN in February 1898, simultaneously with which the Filipinos declared their independence and proclaimed a Republic with Emilio Aguinaldo as President. After the capture of MANILA by the combined American and Filipino troops under General Merrit, the Treaty of PARIS was concluded, transferring the PHILIPPINES from SPAIN to the U. S. But as Aguinaldo refused to recognise the ownership of the U. S. and struck for independence, fresh hostilities broke out between U. S. and the PHILIPPINES, which ended only in April 1902, when the last Philippine garrison surrendered.

Constitutional Progress. In July 1902, Mr. Taft, first American Governor of the PHILIPPINES, gave it a democratic constitution with an Upper and a Lower House, both of which were superseded in 1916 by a Senate of 24 members and a House of Representatives of 91 members, together with a Council of State. Later in 1923, this Council of State was abolished: and under the Thompson Report of 1927, a more responsible type of Government was established.

The islands have now the status of a Commonwealth, with an elected President (M. Quezon) and a National Assembly of not more than 120 members chosen for three years. Under a new constitution passed in 1934, the Commonwealth is to achieve full independence not later than 1946. The U. S. A. is now represented by a High Commissioner, (Paul Vores McNutt, who was appointed in 1937 in succession to Frank Murphy, the last Governor-General and the first High Commissioner).

American Pledges. The constitutional position of the PHILIPPINES in relation to the U. S. A., is interesting as illustrating how relations, at first far from friendly, have become more and more friendly in course of time. As early as 1900, President McKinley had declared in his instructions to the Taft Commission that "the Commission should bear in mind that the Government they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace and prosperity of the people of the PHILIPPINE Islands." In 1913, General Harrison had delivered a message to the Filipinos from the U. S. President that "every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the islands, and as a preparation for that independence." The subsequent changes undertaken in 1916, 1923, 1927 and 1934 (already referred to), by which the constitution was further liberalised, were carried out in accordance with the policy adumbrated in these declarations. It was only a few weeks ago that President Roosevelt proclaimed, "I give to the people of the PHILIPPINES my solemn pledge that their freedom will be redeemed, and their independence established and protected. The entire resources in men and material of the U. S. stand behind that pledge."

Moreover, in the eyes of many American citizens, there was an essential incompatibility between the conception of a Colonial Empire and the ideas on which the U. S. A. was founded. A Colonial Empire in their view was an "aberration", a negation of the principles of the famous "declaration of independence". On the other hand, the producers of sugar and tobacco in the PHILIPPINES enjoy the unrestricted advantages of the wealthy American markets. With the severance of direct political relations these Philippine products will be treated as "foreign"; and a very valuable market will thus be lost. The all important question of the defence of the islands is another vital consideration. At present, the U. S. A. foots the bill for every dollar spent for Philippine defence, and the income of the islands is utilised for the development of their own resources; but with the completion of Philippine independence the question of defence becomes their own domestic concern. As President Quezon declared about a year ago, "the defence of the country remains primarily the responsibility of the U. S.".

Philippines' Heroic Stand. The question of the defence of the PHILIPPINES naturally brings us to the part played by the islands in this war. Although from the commencement of this war in 1939, the importance of the PHILIPPINES in the event of the war spreading to the Pacific had been recognised, till recently the islands were not directly involved at all. It was only on December 7th 1941, when JAPAN, with premeditated treachery, and in defiance of all international rules of warfare, launched her surprise attack on MANILA, as well as on PEARL HARBOUR, HONOLULU, HONG-KONG and SINGAPORE, that the PHILIPPINES came directly within the war zone AMERICA and the PHILIPPINES were caught unprepared, MANILA was ruthlessly bombed. Some islands were attacked by the Japanese. On December 22, it was announced that "the situation of DAVAO on the MINDANAO island was obscure." Finding that MANILA might suffer permanently from long continued aerial bombardment, the American Government declared it "an open city" on December 26th; but this did not deter the unscrupulous Japanese from indiscriminately bombing the whole town. So on January 2nd 1942, MANILA fell into the Japanese hands, and along with that, has also gone the "nine and a half million dollar naval base of CAVITE", twenty miles south-west of MANILA.

Philippines' Defences. But the loss of MANILA, though serious has not lessened the resistance of the

islands to Japanese attack. American and Philippine troops are still occupying strong positions in the islands, especially in the BATAAN Peninsula in LUZON island. The defences of FORT MILLS on CORREGIDOR island and FORT HUGHES, FORT DRUM and FORT FRANK on the smaller islands, have been erected to withstand a long siege. The key to the whole situation is the island of CORREGIDOR, fittingly described as the Gibralter of the FAR EAST, whose rocky formations rise to about 600 feet above sea-level, its green forests concealing "mortars, A-A guns, batteries, search-lights, 12-inch guns and mouths of secret tunnels hewn in the rock and wide enough for a double-track railway. Underground, the fortress possesses vast living accommodation, stores of fuel, food, water, medical supplies, munitions and deep shelters designed to stand a long siege". During the last few days, the island of MASBATE, near the centre of the Archipelago, has been occupied by the Japanese troops; but the stout resistance on the BATAAN Peninsula by the American and the Filipino troops under General MacArthur continues unabated, evoking world-wide admiration. Meanwhile President Quezon is carrying on the administration from some undisclosed place.

The Igorots. The following account of the Igorots given recently by General MacArthur himself illustrates the character of the tough resistance to the savage invader which these islands are now putting up. MacArthur states, "Many desperate acts of courage and heroism have fallen under my observation in many fields of battle and in many parts of the world. I have seen forlorn hopes become realities. I have seen last ditch stands and innumerable acts of personal heroism that defy description. But for sheer breath-taking and heart-stopping desperation I have never known the equal of those Igorots".

Here is the story itself as told by MacArthur:—'the Igorots are a non-Christian tribe living in the BONTOC mountain region of Northern LUZON. They are an industrious and peace-loving people, but they are likewise absolutely fearless.

'During the recent offensive of February 20, a Japanese infantry made an attack on a position held by a single Igorot company. To a man the Igorots died in their fox-holes without flinching or a thought of retreat but exacting a tremendous toll of the Japanese,

'To restore the situation, the High Command ordered an immediate counter attack by a tank unit supported by infantry—also Igorot.

'The bamboo jungle with its heavy irregular terrain in that section of the front is almost impenetrable, and apparently made it impossible for the tanks to operate. Without a word the Igorot commander hoisted his men on the tops of the tanks, in order that they might guide the machines through the matted morass of underbrush thickets and trees.

'No quarter was asked and none given. Always above the din of battle rose the fierce shouts of the Igorots as they rode on the tanks and fired their pistols.

'When the attack was over remnants of the tanks and the Igorots were still there; but the 20th Japanese Infantry Regiment had been completely annihilated'.

Quezon. Don Manuel Luis Quezon, to whom the PHILIPPINES owe all their constructive achievements in recent years, is a remarkable Spanish Malay personality. Born in the Island of LUZON, he loves his native land passionately. As a soldier he fought, first against SPAIN and then against the U. S. Later he became a legislator, and has now risen to be the President. He has been recently elected to the Presidential honour a second time, and invested with "emergency powers to suppress espionage, prohibit strikes and lockouts and mobilise citizens for such productive pursuits as are deemed necessary". Telegraphing to President Roosevelt on December 13th 1941, Quezon assured him that "everywhere the people are loyal to the U. S. and are determined to stand by her destiny, because of their gratitude to you, to the U. S. Government and because of their devotion to the cause of democratic freedom."

WEEKLY WAR SUMMARY.

21—2—42 to 27—2—42.

The Far-East.—The battle for RANGOON, the battle for BALI and the battle for TIMOR are the main events of the week—intended respectively, to cut off the BURMA road, JAVA and AUSTRALIA from Allied help.

The most stimulating action of the week is the big naval action off BALI, in which Dutch and American warships and aircraft inflicted heavy losses on the Japanese. The enemy is reported to have lost 1 cruiser, 2 destroyers and 4 ships, while 5 cruisers, 2 destroyers and 15 ships were damaged.

The battle for RANGOON continues with unabated intensity on the banks of the Sittang river, the only natural barrier left between RANGOON and the enemy. The Japanese are bombing MANDALAY and MAYMYO, former capitals, in order to cut off the BURMA road. Chinese forces are advancing on THAILAND to relieve the pressure on RANGOON and Chinese guerillas are in action in MALAYA. 27 Japanese planes were destroyed on Wednesday in air battles over RANGOON.

RANGOON harbour has been closed, and an alternative route for taking supplies to BURMA is being laid from CHUNKING *via* CHENGTU to BATANG on the border of TIBET, and from there to SADIYA on the Brahmaputra in N. E. ASSAM. From SADIYA, communication to CALCUTTA would be both by river and railway. The new road lies 400 miles north of the BURMA road, beyond the reach of any Japanese raiders in the Bay of Bengal. 100,000 men are busy completing the road.

The Japanese have effected landings on DELI (Portuguese) and KOEPANG (Dutch) in the island of TIMOR, forestalling the arrival of the Portuguese army, which is on its way to relieve the British garrison in the Portuguese part of the island. With their customary hypocrisy and dishonesty, the Japanese deny any knowledge of the promise that BRITAIN has made to evacuate the island as soon as the Portuguese forces should arrive. Dr. Salaazar, Portuguese Premier has protested to the Japanese, paying a handsome tribute to the British attitude.

The Battle of the BATAAN Peninsula in the PHILIPPINES has now become more or less a stalemate. In a surprise thrust all along the line Mac Arthur's troops have captured a number of advanced positions and the enemy has withdrawn several kilometres on the right flank.

PORT DARWIN has undergone a second attack and bombs were dropped on MORESBY in PAPUA. The sinking of three more Japanese ships near MACASSAR is announced.

The Chinese have recaptured RASHAPING—a strategic river-town south of the CANTON-HANKOW Railway.

An enemy U-boat penetrated into the Gulf of Paria and torpedoed two ships in the Port of SPAIN (TRINIDAD). Continuous submarine activity is reported off the Islands of ARUBA and CURACOA (Dutch), TRINIDAD and BRITISH GUIANA.

The first attack on the American Continent was made on Tuesday, when an enemy submarine shelled a point on the Californian coast just when President Roosevelt was addressing the American Nation by Radio. This is merely 'bluff', which will have no effect except to strengthen American determination to fight to the victorious end.

Russia.—Fighting is increasing at all strategic points—LENINGRAD, KHARKOV, SMOLENSK and the CRIMEA. The main Russian thrust is towards SMOLENSK where DOROGOBUZH, 50 miles from the city, has been captured. Russians have taken the important village of PANINO, 14 miles north of RZEV. Soviet troops have advanced on the KHARKOV and OREL fronts. 2250 Rumanians have been killed in an attempted counter-attack in the UKRAINE. On Tuesday, in the STARAYA RUSSIA district near lake Ilmen, the 16th German army was encircled, and 96,000 have been trapped. This is a personal defeat for Hitler, who had ordered that it should hold out at any cost.

In a desperate attempt to stem the advancing tide, Hitler is throwing in his tanks reserved for the spring offensive. The enemy is still strongly clinging to every village and trench till forced to evacuate, often venting his rage on the unoffending civil population and prisoners of war.

In an order of the Day, issued on the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the Red Army, Stalin says: 'We shall throw the enemy from the gates of LENINGRAD, liberate White RUSSIA, the UKRAINE and the CRIMEA.' The German army is no longer what it was. The time has arrived for an offensive. At TIKHVIN and ROSTOV, in the CRIMEA and then at MOSCOW the enemy has been defeated. The MOSCOW and TULA regions have been cleared. Tens of towns and hundreds of villages have been liberated, Sir Hugh Dalton, speaking at a special ceremony in LONDON held in honour of the Red Anniversary added, 'there will not be a great spring offensive by the Germans; it will be a Russian offensive. The Red Army is going to carry its attack through to the bitter end—at the gates of BERLIN.'

Libya.—As reported last week, Rommel has withdrawn his forces to the position from which he sallied. There has been no further

development in the area, apart from minor skirmishes. Towards the south-west a patrol of Royal Dragoons penetrated as far as MSUS. On Monday, enemy parties were engaged south-west and south of TMIMI. During Sunday, R. A. F. bombers raided the landing ground at MARTUBA. A severe sand-storm is hampering operations both on land and in air.

The New War Cabinet—Ministerial Changes.—The British War Cabinet has been reduced from 9 to 7. Sir Stafford Cripps enters as a new member, and Lord Beaverbrook, Mr. Arthur Greenwood and Sir Kingsley Wood go out.

Sir Stafford Cripps will be the leader of the House of Commons; the Dominions Secretary will represent the Dominions in the War Cabinet, and Mr. Lyttleton, who is now in the MIDDLE EAST, will supervise Production.

The German drive for production.—Ruthless efforts are being made by GERMANY to increase her arms production against the coming spring. The German labourers, who are already working 16 hours a day, are forced to work longer and are told that it is 'a last six-month effort in order that GERMANY may live'. Foreign and juvenile labour is pressed into service. Tubercular workers are introduced into factories; youths of 17 are called up for military service.

Uruguay.—President Baldomir has dissolved the URUGUAY Parliament and suspended elections. He has called upon the parties to form a 'Board' to carry on the Legislative work. This move, without being exactly a *coup d'état*, is said to have been made in order to counteract the efforts of the Harrerista Party, which has been attempting for some time to wean URUGUAY from co-operation with BRITAIN and the UNITED STATES.

A New Anglo-American Agreement is announced under the Lease-Lend Act, by which the UNITED STATES re-affirms its determination to continue to supply aid to BRITAIN, and BRITAIN agrees to reciprocate. Its special feature is the fact that it is open to participation by 'all other nations of like mind', and provides for improved world-wide economic relations under a system of enlarged production, exchange and consumption of goods. Commenting on it the *Times* observes, 'the common economic policy to which the two Governments are thus committed, opens up the prospect of a world in which the two

greatest industrial and commercial nations, in co-operation with other countries, will work together to promote the prosperity of all, instead of competing for selfish advantages. It will give confidence not only to the belligerent nations but to anxious neutrals. 'The victory of the Allies will not be followed by a return to economic chaos, with the miseries of unemployment for urban workers and collapsing markets for the farmer'.

ALLIED Air Raids over ENEMY and ENEMY-occupied COUNTRIES.

Date. Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment.	Aircraft losses for Allies.	Aircraft losses for Enemies.
16—2—42 (Monday).			
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes.)			
DAY:—			
An enemy convoy in the Bay of BISCAY.	2 ships hit; 1 damaged.	1 plane.	
NIGHT:—			
Ports in North-west GERMANY. **Enemy air fields** in HOLLAND. **Shipping** off the FRENCH coast.	1 vessel damaged.	1 plane.	
LIBYA. (By British planes).			
The harbour and the Torelli barracks at BENGHAZI.	Big fires started.		
The harbour and the railway station at TRIPOLI.			
EASTERN FRONT. (By Russian planes).			
Aircraft on the aerodromes and air combats along the whole front.		10 planes.	23 planes.
FAR EAST—BURMA. (By American and British planes).			
Reconnaissance over Enemy Territory.			
17—2—42 (Tuesday).			
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
DAY:—			
Enemy convoy off the NORWEGIAN coast. **Enemy shipping** off the DUTCH coast.	2 ships hit.	No loss.	
NIGHT:—			
Objectives in North-west GERMANY.		No loss.	
LIBYA. (By British planes).			
Offensive sweeps south of the general line from TMIMI to MECHELI.			
EASTERN FRONT. (By Russian planes).			
Aircraft on the aerodromes and air combats along the whole battle front.		9 planes.	35 planes.

ALLIED Air Raids over ENEMY and ENEMY-occupied COUNTRIES—*cont.*

Date. Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment.	Aircraft losses for Allies.	Aircraft losses for Enemies.
17—2—42 (Tuesday)—cont.			
FAR EAST—N. E. I.—(SUMATRA). (By American and British planes).			
Enemy aerodrome at PALEMBANG.			
Enemy ships off the coast of BANKA.	1 troop-carrier and 2 barges sunk.		2 planes.
18—2—42 (Wednesday).			
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
DAY:—			
Factories, locomotives and search-light positions in occupied FRANCE.			
NIGHT:—			
Laying mines in enemy waters.			
LIBYA. (By British planes).			
Enemy lorries and troop positions south of TMIMI and MECHELI.			
EASTERN FRONT. (By Russian planes).			
Air combats and aircraft on the aerodromes along the whole fighting area.		8 planes.	16 planes.
FAR EAST—BURMA. (By American and British planes).			
Enemy troop positions in MOULMEIN area.			
THAILAND. (By American and British planes.)			
Aerodrome in THAILAND.			
19—2—42 (Thursday).			
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
NIGHT:—			
Military objectives in the RUHR.		No loss.	
LIBYA. (By British planes).			
Enemy aerodromes and troop positions south of TMIMI and MECHELI.			
BENGHAZI.			
EASTERN FRONT. (By Russian planes).			
Air combats and aircraft on the aerodromes along the whole front.		12 planes.	31 planes.
FAR EAST—BURMA. (By American and British planes).			
Reconnaissance over enemy territories.			
JAVA (N. E. I.) (By American and British planes).			
Enemy shipping and warships off BALI.	1 cruiser sunk, 5 cruisers, transports and 2 destroyers damaged.		
20—2—42 (Friday).			
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
DAY:—			
Offensive patrols over the ENGLISH CHANNEL and northern FRANCE.			
Two factories and an E-boat in northern FRANCE.			
NIGHT:—			
No information available.			
LIBYA. (By British planes).			
Enemy positions, armoured vehicles, transport lorries and aerodromes in the battle area.			
EASTERN FRONT. (By Russian planes).			
Air combats and aircraft on the aerodromes along the whole front.		3 planes.	25 planes.
FAR EAST—BALI (N. E. I.) (By American and British planes).			
Enemy transport ships escorted by warships off BALI.			
Enemy merchantmen in MUSI river.			
THAILAND. (By American and British planes).			
An aerodrome in THAILAND.			

ALLIED Air Raids over ENEMY and ENEMY-occupied COUNTRIES—*cont.*

Date. Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment.	Aircraft losses for Allies.	Aircraft losses for Enemies.
21—2—42 (Saturday).			
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
NIGHT:—			
Military objectives in the RHINELAND and elsewhere in western GERMANY. **Laying mines** in enemy waters.		3 planes	
LIBYA. (By British planes).			
Covering land operations in LIBYA.			
Enemy troops and motor lorries in the battle **area.**			
EASTERN FRONT. (By Russian planes).			
Air combats and aircraft on the aerodromes along the whole front.		5 planes.	22 planes.
FAR EAST—BURMA. (By American and British planes).			
Japanese positions in the areas between the BILIN and SITTANG rivers.			
22—2—42 (Sunday).			
GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE. (By British planes).			
No information available.			
LIBYA. (By British planes).			
The landing ground at MARTUBA.			
EASTERN FRONT. (By Russian planes).			
Air combats and aircraft on the aerodromes along the whole front.		12 planes.	28 planes.
FAR EAST—BURMA (By American and British planes).			
Jap positions along the BILIN river.			
BALI (N. E. I.) (By American and British planes).			
The Japanese occupied aerodrome at DEN-PASAR.			

ENEMY Air Raids over ALLIED Territories.

Date. Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment.	Aircraft losses for Enemies.	Aircraft losses for Allies.
17—2—42 (Tuesday).			
BRITAIN (By German planes).			
NIGHT:—			
A point on the east coast of SCOTLAND.	1 person injured but no damage.		
MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes).			
MALTA.			
RUSSIA. (By German planes).			
Vicinity of MOSCOW.		2 planes.	
FAR EAST—PHILIPPINES (By Jap planes.)			
A refugee camp at CABCABEN.			
18—2—42 (Wednesday).			
BRITAIN. (By German planes).			
DAY:—			
A place on the coast of EAST ANGLIA.		1 bomber.	
FAR EAST—AUSTRALIA. (By Jap planes).			
PORT DARWIN.			
N. E. I. (By Jap planes).			
Air fight over SUMATRA.		4 planes.	
JAVA. (By Jap planes).			
SOURABAYA.		5 planes.	
DUTCH TIMOR. (By Jap planes).			
KOEPAND.			
19—2—42 (Thursday).			
BRITAIN. (By German planes).			
NIGHT:—			
A place in EAST ANGLIA.		1 bomber.	

ENEMY Air Raids over ALLIED Territories—*cont.*

Date. Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment.	Aircraft losses for Enemies.	Aircraft losses for Allies.
19—2—42. (Thursday)—cont.			
RUSSIA. (By German planes).			
Vicinity of MOSCOW.		3 planes.	
FAR EAST—AUSTRALIA. (By Jap planes).			
PORT DARWIN.			
SUMATRA and JAVA—N. E. I. (By Jap planes).			
BATAVIA and **SOURABAYA.**			
20—2—42 (Friday).			
BRITAIN. (By German planes).			
No air activity at all.			
MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes).			
MALTA.			
FAR EA ˝ — URMA. (By Jap planes).			
MANDALAY.			
JAVA—N. E. I. (By Jap planes).			
Aerodromes near BUITENZORG and BANDOENG.		1 plane; many more damaged.	
21—2—42 (Saturday).			
BRITAIN. (By German planes).			
DAY:—			
A town on the east coast of ENGLAND.	Slight damage.		
RUSSIA. (By German planes).			
MOSCOW.		3 planes.	
FAR EAST—JAVA—N. E. I. (By Jap planes).			
Aerodromes in JAVA.			

Date. Targets.	Damage caused by air bombardment.	Aircraft losses for Enemies	Aircraft losses for Allies
PHILIPPINES. (By Jap planes).			
American positions in BATAAN peninsula.			
22—2—42 (Sunday).			
BRITAIN. (By German planes).			
No air activity at all.			
MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes):			
MALTA.	2 shot down; 4 more damaged.		
RUSSIA. (By German planes).			
MOSCOW.			
FAR EAST—JAVA—(N. E. I.). (By Jap planes).			
The aerodrome at BANDOENG.		5 planes.	2 planes.
23—2—42. (Monday).			
BRITAIN. (By German planes).			
No air raid at all.			
MEDITERRANEAN. (By German planes).			
MALTA.		2 planes.	
RUSSIA. (By German planes).			
MOSCOW.		1 plane.	
FAR EAST—BURMA. (By Jap planes).			
British positions on the SITTANG river.			
NEW GUINEA. (By Jap planes).			
Reconnaissances over NEW GUINEA.			

SIDE LIGHTS.

WHY SINGAPORE FELL. Now that the first re-actions to the news of the fall of SINGAPORE are passing it is time to take a calm view of the situation.

In the first place it is important to know that SINGAPORE fell a prey to circumstances which no generalship or strategy could have averted. SINGAPORE was fortified to resist an attack from sea, while the assault came from land. Whereas BRITAIN had depended on friendly neighbours, Vichy's abject surrender of INDO-CHINA to JAPAN and THAI's treachery exposed SINGAPORE in the rear. The second unlooked for event was the unlucky loss of the *Prince of Wales* and the *Repulse*, which facilitated an enemy landing in force in North MALAYA Thirdly, the attacks on PEARL HARBOUR cut off American aid. Fourthly distances—enormous distances, delayed the arrival of the much needed reinforcements. Lastly, when the Japanese occupied JOHORE in MALAYA and PONTIANAK in Dutch BORNEO, the very aerodromes from which the Allies could have struck were turned to the enemy's uses. In the circumstances surrender became inevitable.

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THE BATTLE OF JAVA. But all is not lost because SINGAPORE has been lost. The loss of SINGAPORE has only delayed but not denied victory. It is a race for time and Wavell, anticipating the fall even while SINGAPORE was resisting, had started preparations for the defence of JAVA, in order to secure a *point d' appui* against the Japanese lines of advance, and to be used as a spring-board for the impending Anglo-American counter-offensive.

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A NEW KIND OF WAR. President Roosevelt has done great service by pointing out that this war is a new kind of war altogether; 'not only in its methods but in its geography'. It is warfare 'in terms of every continent, every island, every sea.' The battle-lines are 'world-encircling', the broad oceans which have afforded protection in the past have become 'endless battle-fields, now'. Until the flow of supplies gives 'clear superiority', we should 'keep on striking wherever and whenever we meet the foe', 'even if for a while we have to yield ground'. This is the new strategy.

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ONLY A FLASH IN THE PAN. On the other hand, it must be remembered that JAPAN's present successes gained by treachery and surprise are in their nature evanescent.

This is not mere wishful thinking. JAPAN can surprise but once, and her treachery cannot be repeated. It is also an encouraging and comforting fact that her ambitious designs are now spread over 3,000 miles from east to west and 4,000 miles from north to south, covering 12,000,000 square miles of land and water. Along this huge battle-line she has to contend against the combined might of BRITAIN, AMERICA, the EAST INDIES, AUSTRALIA and INDIA. The front is nearly three times longer than Hitler's line in RUSSIA. Compared with Hitler's 80 millions plus his European allies, JAPAN has only 70 millions without an Asiatic ally. JAPAN and GERMANY cannot directly assist each other. If Hitler, with his better organisation and resources is now being driven back by a single foe in RUSSIA, what will JAPAN's fate be in a few months when the Allied hosts appear on the scene, marshalled in all their strength. Small as the engagements have been, MACASSAR, MARSHALL and GILBERT have already indicated the trend of the coming conflict. The enemy has already lost over a hundred vessels, cruisers, destroyers and merchant ships. JAPAN cannot afford to lose at this rate: her resources are poor especially in oil and iron ore.

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NEARER VICTORY THAN WE THINK. The Allied position to-day is much stronger than it was two years ago.

In 1940 BRITAIN had to face the enemy alone, without reserves; with resources potential rather than actual; with RUSSIA befriending the Germans; and AMERICA standing aloof. To-day she is allied with the greater part of the world, her reserves built, her resources converted into weapons, with AMERICA and RUSSIA fighting by her side. In 1940 Hitler thought that Victory was within his reach; in 1941 he began to doubt; in 1942 he has begun to despair. In 1940 he used only his picked troops; now he is using up his reserves. In 1940 BRITAIN fought for time to *survive*; now she fights for time to *win*.

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THE LESSON OF THE LAST WAR. The events of the last war, to which Mr. Churchill drew pointed attention in his speech to the House of Commons on Tuesday, is a timely reminder that ultimate victory is bound to follow the present course of events. He said :—

" There is no reason to be discouraged about the progress of the war. We are passing through a bad time now, and it will probably be worse before it is better, but that it will be better if we only endure and persevere I have no doubt whatever.

"The old wars were decided by their episodes rather than by their tendencies; in this war the tendencies are far more important than the episodes. Without winning any sensational victories we may win this war. We may win it even during the continuance of extremely disappointing and vexatious events. It is not necessary, for us to win this war, to push the German lines back over all the territories they have absorbed or to pierce them.

"While the German lines stand far beyond their frontiers, while their flag flies over conquered capitals and subjugated countries, while all the appearance of military success attends their arms, Germany may be defeated more fatally in the second or third year of the war than if Allied armies had entered Berlin in the first".

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LET US NOT FORGET OUR SUCCESSES. Captain H. D. R. Margesson did well to tell the House of Commons the other day that we owed a duty to ourselves to remember our own achievements. It is only in fairness to ourselves that at a moment of depression we should think not only of failures but of our successes as well. Think for instance, as he says, what would be the present position if the 280,000 Italian Soldiers, in North and East Africa, now either prisoners or killed, had remained at large to threaten the MIDDLE EAST.

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CO-PROSPERITY FOR INDIA. General Tojo, copying nauseating Nazi methods, has offered BURMA for the Burmese, brotherhood for the Australians, and co-prosperity for the Indians. The *Daily Telegraph* calls it 'the bleating of the wolf in sheep's skin.' Whether the wolf 'bleats' or howls, Tojo's offer of co-prosperity to India is too blatant, too vulgar to deceive anybody. It is an insult to Indian understanding. Indian intelligence is too sound to be taken in by such fair words and promises; too honourable to be inveigled by such 'bleating' or braying.

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THE CLOAK OF RELIGION. JAPAN's monkey tricks do not stop with offers of co-prosperity. Subtly combined with her political propaganda of co-prosperity and other nonsense, is the snare of religious fraternity. It would be farcical were it not tragical that the treaty of 'alliance' between SIAM and JAPAN was signed in a Buddhist temple. In May 1941 JAPAN celebrated for the first time the *Vesak* ceremony, in the manner of CEYLON, SIAM and FRENCH INDO-CHINA, in order to show that she was as deeply religious as they were. We are reminded here

of the story of the old fangless tiger who no longer able to hunt her prey stood knee-deep in mud, holding out a pair of gold bangles, to present them, in expiation of her sins, to any passer-by who would be so foolish as to take them from her hands, so that the moment he approached his legs were sure to be caught in the mud and his body to be crushed in her embrace. As a matter of fact JAPAN has no religion. Her Buddhism was long ago exchanged for Shintoism, Emperor-worship and other forms of Fuehrer-worship. No Buddhist altar graces school, office or barrack. This is the country that poses as the 'Liberator of Buddhism.' We remember we heard erstwhile of a Liberator of Islam ! Buddhism is JAPAN's latest bait of exploitation.

CHINA, the home of the truest Buddhist Culture, is now happily the defender and bulwark of Buddhisim in the spheres threatened by JAPAN. JAPAN's Buddhism is massacre, serfdom and slavery. As Madame Chiang reminded us lately, JAPAN will say, 'we come to liberate you !; but that is a lie: what they offer is a slavery of the body and a slavery of the soul'.

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THE COMING OFFENSIVE. Signs and portents are not wanting of an early Allied offensive. Here are some opinions worth knowing :—

Mr. Stimson. U. S. War Secretary :—'To string out the Country's defences, either the Army or the Navy, would be the surest way of losing the war. We must mass our forces in offensive action and carry the war to the enemy. We are on the front line ourselves. We cannot buy our way out of this war; we cannot produce our way out: we can only fight our way out'. We shall seize every opportunity for a counter-offensive, counter-attack, or offensive.

Dr. Von Mook. Lieut. Governor General of the NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES :—'It is felt that waiting and withdrawing policies must tend to undermine the Democracies own strength.'

The Sydney Telegraph. 'Von Mook talks a language that the Australians can understand when he says the democracies must cease thinking in terms of defence: they must search for the enemy and fight him.'

A Washington Message. 'The necessity of wresting the initiative from the enemy is impressing itself more and more on this side of the Atlantic.'

President Roosevelt. 'Soon we and not our enemies will have the offensive. We, and not they, will gain the final battles; we and not they will make the final peace'.

THE RIOM TRIAL. The trial of Daladier, Blum and Gamelin which has just been resumed after a long delay, reveals the unpreparedness of the French Government at the time that GERMANY struck her. When hostilities opend *there was not a single* modern bomber—War materials were lacking; industrial mobilisation was inadequate. Labour legislation by fixing the hours of work made over-work impossible. Pierre did not organise the air force, but had lent his machines to SPAIN while he badly needed them himself. Jacomet tolerated illegal action by Trade Unions. The enumeration is sickening.

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THE NAZIS AND THE MUSLIM WORLD. The time has passed when the Germans could hope to deceive the Muslim world by protestations of friendship. Their persecution of the Arabs and Muslims in FRANCE, POLAND and RUSSIA, has exposed their villainy. The German Gestapo is known to have prepared secret lists of Arabs whose only crime was their love of independence. Arabs are not permitted to cross over from occupied FRANCE to the unoccupied area. Recently an Algerian Arab was shot dead by the Nazis in PARIS.

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A FINE OPPORTUNITY. The recent visit to PUDUKKOTTAI of Col. F. C. Wall from BANGALORE to recruit qualified people for technicians, mechanics and clerks is a timely reminder to our young men of the fine opportunity that awaits them to secure a well-paid job, career and advancement for themselves, while at the same time they could serve their home-land and the Empire in a noble cause. We would also draw the attention of our readers, now that we are on this subject, to the establishments at BOMBAY and KARACHI where boys between 15 and 17 are given naval training which offers a glorious career. The R. I. N., which has expanded sixfold since the war began, goes back to the days of Jehanghir. In the present war the first ship to enter MASSAWA was H. M. I. S., *Hindustan.* The R. I. N., has helped in the capture of 3 enemy naval vessels, five naval auxiliaries and 29 merchantships, and has also shared in the battles of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. During the last year alone, the service had a 50% increase of officers and 100% increase of ratings. Boys joining these naval training schools have a fine future.

VULNERABILITY OF JAPANESE SEA-BORNE SUPPLIES.

SIGNIFICANCE OF ENEMY LOSSES IN MACASSAR STRAITS.

ALLIED POLICY IN SOUTH-WESTERN PACIFIC.

COMPARISON WITH POSITION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

by

Lt.-Commander Thomas Woodroffe. (*In a recent B. B. C. talk.*)

Whatever Japan's long-term policy may be, her immediate aims in the South-Western Pacific are now pretty clear—to grab as many bases and airfields as she can while the going is good. She wants to get and keep air superiority over all the islands from Singapore to the Solomons. She started this grabbing of bases a good many years ago, she has been fortifying and making seaplane bases, contrary to her mandates from the League of Nations, in the Carolines and Marshalls ever since the last war.

Given command of the sea, which Japan has for the time being in the South-Western Pacific, the problem of attack on any selected one of the myriad islands is a far easier business than the problem of their defence. The attacker is in an ideal position. As Mr. Churchill pointed out in his speech, "the defence is thin, while the enemy can pick his objective and swoop down with an overwhelming force just where and when he chooses."

That is how things stand at present. By obtaining command of the sea, Japan has things pretty much her own way ; without that command her present operations would be suicidal. The whole basis of this very impressive invasion is a tenuous network of sea communications, which have been almost free from attack until now.

If you consider Japan as the centre of a wheel whose spokes are each 2,500 miles long, then she is operating along a length of 4,000 miles of the rim of that wheel. That means that a 15-knot convoy would take about a week to get out to the rim.

Japan has a number of fast cargo steamers and tankers, which she built in peace time, and was content to run at a loss. To-day we can see why. Fast merchantmen are invaluable in wartime. The speed of the average tramp is slow, so that a slow convoy, even in good weather, could not progress across the Atlantic very much faster than you or I could walk.

POLICY OF ATTRITION.

But though the cards to date have mostly fallen the way of the attackers, Japan has had to take heavy losses, particularly during recent days in the

Macassar Strait. This Strait is a narrow alley-way, nearly 120 miles wide and about 600 miles long, the shortest route between the Philippines and Java. It runs between Borneo and the Celebes, that island which looks so like a starfish on the map.

A few more successes like this would have an appreciable effect on Japan's amphibious operations. Now, this was the first occasion in the war when the enemy did not enjoy air superiority, and we can only deal with him in this devastating manner in narrow, land-locked waters like the Macassar Straits, so long as Japan commands the open sea. Until we can concentrate sufficient naval forces with adequate air support in the South-Western Pacific, our policy has got to be one of attrition, using light sea forces, aircraft and submarines.

But communications cannot be absolutely cut by such attacks. They are a heavy drain on the enemy, but not a complete prevention, because a percentage of most convoys attacked generally gets through. As Japan expands herself, these sporadic sinkings will have a greater effect, because a successful landing does not just end with the assault and hoisting of the Rising Sun flag over the local government buildings.

RACE FOR BASES.

The Expeditionary Force has to put itself into a state of defence, and has to be supplied with munitions and stores. So convoys have to keep on running backwards and forwards between the hub of the wheel and the rim, 2,500 miles each way. It is a large undertaking, even for a country which has prepared for this for the last 20 years.

When the Allies are in a position to attack a few of the spokes of the wheel by bringing sufficient naval forces to bear to threaten every convoy on its long trek out, then these advance Japanese bases will be in a precarious position. If Japan's main fleet were destroyed, Japan herself would be threatened. The supply routes would dry up, the advance bases would drop off one by one, and all this business would stop.

Japan is an island nation. She knows that her very existence depends on the main fleet. She may not wish to risk a general action for that reason. She is racing against time just as we are. She knows that some time the days of easy money will be over, and she is going to grab all she can and do as much damage as possible until then.

In the meantime, until their forces on sea, air and land are fully mobilised, the Allies have to hold on as best they can, and their aircraft and light naval forces have been lately making a very good job of it.

MEDITERRANEAN SITUATION.

The naval situation in the Mediterranean has direct bearing on events in the Pacific, because the Italian fleet, though it is not keen on fighting, by its

mere existence is a potential threat, and therefore it keeps busy a proportion of our naval forces that could be usefully employed elsewhere. But the strategical problems in the Mediterranean are nothing like those in the South-Western Pacific. We hold each end of the Mediterranean with forces based some 2,000 miles apart at Gibraltar and Alexandria, while the Italians have the advantage of holding the central position half-way between.

The Axis and ourselves have to send supplies to North Africa and there the enemy has a tremendous advantage. He has only the short sea-route between Southern Italy or Sicily and Tripoli. He can race his convoys across in under 36 hours, and no matter how soon the departure of a convoy is reported by our reconnaissance, it can get across and be safe in Tripoli long before ships from Alexandria or Gibraltar can race up and stop its passage.

The Axis in the Mediterranean, like the Japanese in the Pacific, are working on interior lines, and we cannot prevent a certain amount of supplies getting across to Rommel, though our submarines and aircraft make things expensive. **For instance, if, say, ten tanks are earmarked for Africa, only about seven ever reach General Rommel in the desert.**

In both the Pacific and in the Mediterranean theatres of war the enemy's supply lines are seaborne, and therefore open to attack. The drain on enemy supplies has been great, and as the Allies get stronger, enemy losses at sea will have an increasing effect on the total Axis war effort.

SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME.
MACASSAR STRAIT AND MARSHALL ISLES ACTIONS.
INTERFERENCE WITH ENEMY MOVEMENT.

by

H. C. Ferraby.

The first encouraging signs of heavy counter-blows at sea have come with the Macassar Strait and Marshall Isles actions. For eight weeks the Far Eastern war saw Japanese plans long prepared being carried out, apparently largely unhindered. It will now be possible to interfere with the further smooth working of Japanese operations.

Some of the moves the Japanese made had been expected by all students of naval warfare, and naval officers of high rank in the United States had warned their countrymen for 20 years past that in the event of war the United States Navy would be unable to prevent initial successes by the Japanese against such outlying possessions as the Philippines, Guam and Wake Island. The reason was the decision, approved wholeheartedly by citizens of the

United States at the time, to accept the Four-Power Pact prohibiting the development of naval bases in the Pacific.

The first important reverse the Japanese suffered was in the dispersal of a big convoy which was steaming southward across the Straits of Macassar, and was quite possibly intended to effect a dramatic seizure of territory in Java. The siege of Singapore has made the Dutch naval base at Sourabaya of prime importance to the United Navies, and the size of that Japanese convoy seems to indicate that it was their biggest effort and was aimed at nullifying the usefulness of that anchorage in Java.

ENEMY FORCE RETIRES.

A second instructive though comparatively minor incident came in an engagement off the east coast of Malaya, in which a Japanese cruiser and three destroyers covering landing operations elected to retire when they were tackled by two small British destroyers, whose offensive power was less than half that of the Japanese ships. Without in any way exaggerating the importance of the incident, we may take it into consideration as showing one sort of Japanese reaction to interference with their plans. Already, as we know from official bulletins, considerable material loss among cruisers and destroyers has been suffered by the Japanese, and it may well be that their leaders are already feeling the necessity for some husbanding of their sea strength.

The third recent incident of significance was the attack by the American Pacific Fleet on Japanese bases in the Marshall Islands. Perhaps Admiral Nimitz hoped that his move would result in contact with some of the Japanese main fleet, for the destruction of that is the first and greatest object in his campaign. However Admiral Yamamoto was not there, and the American forces had to be content with the destruction of auxiliaries and shore installations. **The importance of the incident lies especially in the sharp reminder to the Japanese that they are far from having established permanent command of the sea.** The apparent immunity with which they have hitherto moved their military convoys between Formosa and Borneo tended to give that impression.

JAPANESE RECKONING GOES WRONG.

Reinforcement takes time. The great distances of ocean that have to be covered must be remembered. From Pearl Harbour to Fiji is 2,700 miles, and from Fiji to Java is another 3,000. Allowing for stops for refuelling, ships would probably require from three to four weeks to concentrate. The Japanese no doubt counted on this factor, and may even have expected to be more strongly entrenched in the East Indies within this period. At any rate we may take this action by the American Navy as being a possible forerunner of further interference with the movements and plans of the Japanese, who may find themselves driven to a great deal of rearrangement and remodelling. That will be the test of their ability to carry on a large-scale war.

BRITAIN SPEAKS.

HITLER CAN DO NO WRONG.
GAGGING PUBLIC OPINION.

by

B. B. Priestley (*In a B. B. C. talk*).

REPRESSION OF THE GERMAN PRESS AND PUBLIC.

In the Axis countries the people aren't expected to think for themselves, but simply to do what they are told. Indeed, in Germany, strictly speaking, there's only one man who is allowed to think for himself and that's Adolf Hitler; everybody else is under strict discipline; criticism is sharply discouraged and the critics may be heavily punished. The Press in these Axis countries is controlled absolutely by the Government. In all countries in war time there must be a military censorship so that valuable information isn't given to the enemy, but in the Axis countries a far stricter censorship than this has existed for years; their Press is simply an instrument of official policy; all the newspapers say what they are told to say; they are just as much under the orders of the High Command as the armed forces; thus there's no sphere of free criticism, either within or outside of the Press–the ordinary man in these Axis countries can do little more than grumble under his breath in corners, and even the acknowledged expert, if he should be out of favour with the ruling clique will have no place in which to express his opinion. So in these countries what every government does is automatically right and not to be improved upon; all that the ordinary man or woman can do is to applaud.

EXECUTIVE IRRESPONSIBLE.

May I represent next that we occasionally meet or hear of people in authority in our Democracies, who when they think of such conditions, can't help heaving a few sighs—not sighs of disapproval, but of envy. It's easy to understand why. An overworked Minister in our countries finds himself compelled to take time and trouble he can ill afford answering questions that in his view ought never to have been asked—questions that however they are answered, will his opinion do more harm than good? So that at times when he feels inclined to curse our Democratic habit of asking awkward questions or airing our views. Why can't people leave him alone, he thinks, to get on with his job and also to get on with their own jobs? Our highest official finds that the newspapers are raising

a scare that may badly disturb the public mind at a critical period. He may know the answers, but can't produce them in public for fear of telling the enemy something he badly wants to know. Undoubtedly many of our officials have found themselves in this position, and for the time being had wished our free Press was at the bottom of the sea. Again, perhaps some of our military commanders faced with what seems to them ridiculous articles in the Press, or compelled to take notice of equally absurd questions asked in the Legislature, may at these times feel that they are hampered by these Democratic privileges, and may have been tempted to regard with envy their Axis opponents, who appear to have a much freer hand, and not to be publicly badgered in this fashion. And there have been small groups in Britain, not entirely without influence and Press backing, who have told us that there is far too much free criticism in this country, too many questions, too much doubt about the man on the spot, and so forth. Why can't we ordinary folk keep our mouths shut and leave these difficult problems to the experts? That is the line. If there hasn't been much of it yet overseas, it will probably soon make its appearance among you; sooner or later many of you listeners will be rebuked by an authoritarian person for opening your mouths too often, and not realising that "yours not to reason why". Let me add, however, that this "Can't you keep quiet" approach, with its unpleasant suggestion of the very thing we're fighting, is on a very small scale in this country, and isn't likely to be on any larger scale with you. Now, already, in giving you examples of Ministers and officials, who feel themselves victimised by this free criticism, I've made out something of a case for this repression, and I'm prepared to strengthen that case. Thus I know very well that the Press in the Democracies, not deliberately, but because it can't help remembering its old tricks, have sometimes been irresponsible, to say the least. Often the time and energy of Ministers and other persons in very important posts are wasted because it's necessary to answer certain questions in public; often too those questions can't be answered without telling the enemy something. Again, it's not difficult to lower home morale, to heighten that of the enemy people, by making a great to-do about our weaknesses; it's easy to believe that the whole war effort might be more stream-lined if we didn't cling to these Democratic privileges, if there was less criticism and carping and more enthusiasm and instant obedience.

ADVANTAGES OF A FREE PRESS AND PARLIAMENT.

I am, you see, putting the case very fairly I think; nevertheless I believe it to be a very bad case; I believe that this free criticism, in spite of all its faults and weaknesses, does far more good than harm; I consider that in the long run, it's not one of our liabilities, but one of our best assets. No doubt the kind of sudden, bold stroke, beloved of Germany, and now

seen to be popular in Japan, is easier to make from countries in which everybody is in the grip of the military machine, where instant obedience is everything, where policy is secret and never debated in public, where adverse criticism is not allowed. Military Commanders, under these conditions, may possibly be less inclined to play for safety and more ready to take terrible risks. This, as well as the spirit of unscrupulous treachery, explains the early lightning successes of the Axis machine. Let us grant so much. But, from now on, it's easy to see how this repression becomes a liability. In the first place, it's harder to correct mistakes because no mistakes are publicly acknowledged, and there's little chance of thrashing out how they came to be made. Secondly, however expertly a dictator may choose his men, it's very unlikely that they know everything there is to be known about their particular fields of activity There are always men who for one reason or another will never occupy positions of great responsibility, but who nevertheless, know a great deal about certain matters important to the war effort, and such men can make good use of the facilities offered by a free Parliament and a free Press. Moreover, often men who have been working hard in detached small groups behind closed doors, tend unconsciously to drift further and further away from common sense, as if they had lost sight of daylight. An expert has been defined as a man who avoids all minor errors on his way to the grand fallacy, but on the whole the old Anglo-Saxon mistrust of experts is healthy. We've often been told that the Nazi propaganda machine is controlled by the most formidable experts in large scale propaganda, and yet I for one, who don't pretend to be an expert in propaganda but only a mere hopeful amateur, could point to one gigantic mistake after another these wizards have made. Again, Military Commanders, who will not have any public criticism to face, may be ready to take bigger risks than those who have, but at the same time they also know that they can afford to act upon motives—perhaps to sacrifice thousands of lives out of sheer vanity—that they would never have dared to act upon, if they had lived in an atmosphere of free, healthy criticism. A Democratic war leader has to justify his policy and actions, and the fact that he is constantly aware of this, means that his policy and actions will have their roots in something better than the yellow mania.

HITLER'S VOICES.

I don't wish to belittle Hitler's 'voices', for there have been times when these intuitions of his have shown a great deal of insight, but I shouldn't like to be a gagged member of eighty million whose fate depended on one neurotic individual's inner voices, upon which he can act without ever having to justify himself properly. Again, no matter how energetic and adroit secret police in the propagandists departments may be, a dictator of this kind can't know

half as much about his people as a Democratic leader can. The latter has before him always half a dozen reliable barometers. Indeed, ironically enough, the very repression created by the dictator may easily be the cause of his downfall, simply because it will prevent him from having easy access to the thoughts and feelings of his people; he depends upon reports, but they have been faked, just to please him, or the other members of the gang may be cheating him; for all we know to the contrary, Hitler may believe all manner of nonsensical legends about his people and his armies, for if he's badly mistaken nobody is going to stand up boldly in public and tell him so; he may have surrounded himself with the most unscrupulous 'Yes' men. It may seem more comfortable to murder, imprison or exile most of the independent critical minds, and then to stifle all adverse criticism, but clearly this is a policy for which you pay a heavy price when the crisis arrives. Then, consider the people themselves. At first, when all is going well, when the old carefully laid plans are swiftly and decisively put into operation, when one country after another is over-run, when the loot comes pouring in, this atmosphere of repression and critical silence and mechanical applause is not only not unpleasant but almost magical—you've lived in an age of mysterious wonders, miracles are happening every week, there's nothing to criticise and everything to applaud. Naturally, morale is high.

WHEN ONCE THE PLANS GO WRONG.

But once these glittering triumphs fade away, once the plans go wrong and have to be hastily confronted, once the mysterious wonders and miracles cease, then the minds of people is now invaded by a flood of doubt and suspicion and growing depression; they are not prepared for set-backs; they've been told that everything is perfect. No frank admissions are made, but a few hints are dropped that hard times may be ahead. These people don't know what has gone wrong, for it's an essential part of the policy to have no public discussion of errors and unlucky shots, but not being complete idiots they do realize that something has gone wrong, that suddenly their whole world looks different, and now they are much worse off than the Democratic people, who drew out a case and debated their mistakes and weaknesses, who know what is happening, who have said their say and would never dream of panicking; therefore, I don't hesitate to declare that Axis morale will prove to be far less tough and far more shaky than our own, and that once disaster really looms above those people, with its vast shadow unmistakable, they'll soon be in danger of panic, and all the more in danger, because during the long period of strain and stress imposed on a people by the conditions of total war, they've not ever enjoyed the necessary relief of speaking out and having their say. And that is perhaps the gravest

weakness of this repression in war time, that it does nothing to relieve the stress, but everything to heighten it, carefully sitting on the safety valve so long that finally the whole engine blows up. The time during which you can safely ask people to toil for you, starve for you, die for you, but not to pass any remarks, is strictly limited. I shall be surprised if Hitler is able to stretch it out very much longer.

FOUR STAGES IN THE EVOLUTION OF ALLIED PLANNING.

LESSON FROM THE FALL OF FRANCE.

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN BRITISH COMMONWEALTH UNITS.

WHAT WASHINGTON AGREEMENTS MEAN.

by

Robert Fraser *(In a recent B. B. C. talk).*

In the first week of December the world war extended into a vast new area. It was at once apparent that new machinery would need to be created through which the war in the Pacific could be directed.

Mr. Churchill went to the United States to plan the new machinery with President Roosevelt, and we now know that the President and the Prime Minister did agree to introduce in some places and to propose in others a number of new arrangements of supreme importance for inter-allied co-operation in the direction of the war. **But Allied planning has been developing since the first German bomb exploded on a Polish aerodrome and the World War began.**

It is possible to distinguish four distinct stages in the evolution of Allied planning. There was the first period from the outbreak of war until June 1940, when France was the British Commonwealth's chief-Ally, long before America or Russia, or China became our Allies. It was naturally dominated by Anglo-French planning, and we may for convenience call it the French period.

FIRST PHASE—THE FRENCH PERIOD.

A very high degree of co-operation indeed was developed between Great Britain and France during this French period. There was a Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in the field, a Frenchman. There was an Allied Supreme War Council, which had perfected ten weeks after the war

arrangements for pooling French and British economic resources, very similar to the pooling arrangements agreed on at Washington to cover British and American resources now. They covered, as the Washington agreements cover, munitions and shipping and raw materials.

They were followed in mid-December by a comprehensive financial agreement covering loans and credits, linking the franc and the pound, and accepting one financial policy for the two empires. Some months later, the financial agreement was followed by an industrial agreement.

All these arrangements for unity reached their climax in the British offer to France on June 16, of a full identification of the two nations, for joint organisation for military, foreign and economic policy, for common citizenship and for a single War Cabinet. That offer, one of the most striking in history came to nothing, but there is a lesson for planners that stands out from this French period.

It is the lesson that machinery, by itself, can accomplish nothing, but there cannot be effective unity in councils and committees unless there is unity in courage and intention and determination. Unity on paper is a meaningless scribble unless it is a reflection of unity of heart.

SECOND PHASE—THE ATLANTIC PERIOD.

With the fall of France the second period of Allied planning opened. It lasted from June 1940 to June 1941 when Russia entered the war. We can call it the Atlantic period, for it was a year of war in which the supreme Allied purpose was the defence of Great Britain as an unshakable fortress. It was a period of two great battles, the Battle of the Atlantic and the Battle of Britain.

It was a period in which America moved from something like strict neutrality to Lease and Lend, the occupation of the Atlantic bases and naval patrols. It was a period of striking defensive success and of relatively uncomplicated strategical problems. But it was not a period which called for great inventions in the machinery of planning.

Mr. Hopkins came to London in January as President Roosevelt's personal representative. In the same month the formation of the British Supply Council in North America was announced, and in March two British missions went to the United States—one to deal with shipping, the other with food, while at the same time Mr. Harriman, President Roosevelt's representative for war supplies in Britain, arrived in London. But it was not a period in which large joint executive committees were established, for the good and simple reason that the United States was still not an ally.

THIRD PHASE—THE RUSSIAN PERIOD.

The third period of Allied planning opens in June 1941, with the German attack on Russia and we can call it the Russian period. On the day of the aggression, Great Britain promised all possible help for Russia. A similar American promise came the next day, and the day after that, while the Dominions were endorsing this policy of British aid, it was announced that the British Government would be sending military and economic missions to Moscow.

Then at the end of July there came the Hopkins-Stalin conversations in Moscow, followed on August 2 by the signing of the United States-Soviet Executive Agreement. Later, in the same month, an Anglo-Soviet Trade and Financial Agreement was signed. In the first week of October there were the Stalin-Harriman-Beaverbrook conversations in Moscow, followed by British and American agreements to supply Russia with war material on Lease and Lend terms.

Throughout these three periods—the French, the Atlantic and the Russian periods—war co-operation between the nations of the British Commonwealth went on. It began on the first day of the war and will endure to the last day. The customary channels were employed, but they were supplemented by the visit of the Australian Prime Minister in the spring of 1941, of the New Zealand Prime Minister in the summer, and the Canadian Prime Minister early in August. Each of them attended meetings of the War Cabinet.

FOURTH PHASE—WORLD PLANNING.

The fourth period of planning began in December, and since the war has now become a World War, not only in the original sense that the future of the world was the issue, but also because fighting itself has become world-wide, there is no other name for this period but the period of world planning. While Mr. Eden was meeting Premier Stalin in Moscow, and General Wavell met Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-shek in Chungking, Mr. Churchill made his momentous journey to Washington.

From this there came the appointment of General Wavell as Supreme Commander in the South-West Pacific area. There came the creation of the Anzac Zone under the United States command, the creation of a joint Chiefs of Staff Committee in Washington, the proposal for a Pacific Council, the invitation to the four Dominions to appoint representatives to sit with the War Cabinet, and the formation of the three joint boards dealing with munitions, with shipping and with war materials. These latest developments at Washington offer a world-wide framework of co-operation, through which the United nations may reach united decisions and supervise their victorious execution.

The beginning of this story of Allied co-operation lies back at the beginning of the war itself, and certainly the Washington Agreements are not the end of the story. Each time the phase of the war has changed, corresponding changes in the machinery and planning have followed, and even the day of victory will not end the planning, for then we shall be starting to plan the peace.

AMERICAN PRESS COMMENTS.

PRODUCTION IN 1942.

The New York Times, January 23.—Report to the nation by the Production Bureau: "In 1942 alone we will produce nearly three times as many weapons and supplies of war as in all the 18 months since the fall of France. In 1942 alone we will produce as many tanks and planes as Hitler in all the years before 1939. War spending has soared from an annual rate of two billion dollars to a rate of almost twenty billion dollars. Production of tanks and combat vehicles is more than three times that of a year ago. Production of guns of all types has increased nearly five times, while the production of ammunition has increased nine times. Army warplane production has been stepped up to a point where, with Britain, we will soon exceed the plane output of the Axis countries. More important, we will have the plant capacity to increase our production to a point where we can seize control of the air in all areas of the world...... **At the beginning of 1942 the American Navy had become the strongest single sea-borne fighting force of this planet, and was at war with Germany in the Atlantic, with Japan in the Pacific and with Italy in the Mediterranean; was keeping Japanese ships clear of the Western Hemisphere; and was preventing German ships from menacing the sea routes to and from the eastern ports of South and Central America.**

ROUSING JAPAN'S VICTIMS.

The Washington Post, January 22.—Efforts are being made by the United Nations to reach the conquered people in Europe, in order to rouse them and organise them—this is well known; what is not well known is that there is a similar element in the Japanese empire—25,000,000 souls of the Korean people have been crushed by Japanese aggression. One day they may rise and hit back against their conquerors...... Not only can the Koreans in Japan be transformed into fifth columnists, but also those Koreans in Korea...... The Korea Peninsula is going to be of great strategic importance....

The Koreans are ready to give their lives for liberty, and they might play no small part in such a campaign. They could participate in serious sabotage. Armed, they might even launch persistent guerilla warfare, on the lines of the Serbs in conquered Yugoslavia.

"SHIPS WILL WIN THE WAR".

Rear-Admiral Land in the Journal of Commerce, January 19.—Not only is America the arsenal of the civilised world, but we are well on the way to becoming the greatest maritime Power history has ever known. An astounding transformation is under way. America is building ships—millions of tons of vessels of proper types; manning them with trained crews; loading them with tanks, guns, food, war materials of all kinds and with aid for our Allies; and supplying peoples who are fighting against slavery, degradation and death.... Ever since 1938, and at an ever-increasing tempo, our American shipbuilding industry and our maritime interests have been preparing for just such an emergency.... Ten-thousand-ton steel ships, as good as any afloat for the purpose, are being launched well within three months after their keel plates are placed on the ways. Vessels of the Liberty Fleet now are discharging vitally needed cargo at their destinations.... Ships are the main weapons for defence against the aggressive nations, and the United States is the only country in the world where ships can be produced in sufficient volume.... Ships will win this war.

AMERICAN TROOPS IN IRELAND.

Anne McCormick in the New York Times, January 28.—The first American fighting force in Europe cheers the British, justifies Mr. Churchill, encourages the occupied nations and reassures Russia; **but its main purpose is to convince the Germans that the battle is unending against ever-mounting odds**. The boys from Minnesota and North Dakota did not know where they were landing, but they knew why they were there. "When do we tackle Hitler?" was the first question they asked.

DEMONSTRATION OF PURPOSE.

The Miami Herald, January 27.—The dramatic announcement that an American expeditionary force has landed in Ireland is a startling revelation of the quickening tempo to which the American war participation is being pitched.... The United States is not bluffing. American industry is understood to call for all-out production. **We are putting up in our factories. We are putting up in our shipyards. We are putting up in our man-power. We are putting up with our money**. Whatever the military purpose of the first A. E. F. of this second world war, it is the opening demonstration of our purpose to drive Hitlerism from the face of the earth.

PRIESTS AND NAZISM.

The Catholic News, January 24.—The Nazi Party has for nearly a decade dominated Germany as no political party has ever been able to dominate the United States for even a fraction of the year. Yet, of 24,000 priests in the old Reich fewer than 100 have declared themselves in sympathy with the Nazis.

AERO-ENGINE OUTPUT.

Clapper in the New York World Telegram.—In October this one plant, Pratt and Whitney, was producing as many aeroplane engines as all England. Under this one roof were being produced half as many engines as Germany was turning out. Remember also that there is the Wright plant producing about the same amount as Pratt and Whitney. Also there is Allison with half as much as either of these plants, and coming up now is the big Ford engine plant, and following that at the end of the year are the Buick and Chevrolet plants. So, if last fall Pratt and Whitney and Wright were producing double England's engine output, and approximately equal to Germany's, it is clear that by the end of this year in plane engines we will have an enormous edge on output. Coming out in quantity now over the assembly lines is a new aeroplane engine unmatched in power anywhere else in the world.

INDIAN SEAMEN AND THE WAR.

SERVICES IN ALL THEATRES OF STRUGGLE.

by

Mr. S. Lall, C. I. E., I. C. S., (*In a talk broadcast by the B. B. C.*)

This evening I shall speak about the life and work of our Indian seamen. They constitute about a quarter of the total strength of the British Mercantile Marine. India is therefore, through her seamen alone, making a valuable contribution to the war effort.

The fight against Germany is one of sea-power against land power. On land, Hitler's conquests have not yet been checked, but when he comes to the shore he is contained by British sea-power. If the German Navy came out for a straight fight, the issue would be decided quickly, but these are not its tactics. British sea-power is measured not only in terms of warships, but also in the ability to transport food and raw materials to Great Britain, and to convey troops and munitions to the distant battle-grounds.

British staying and striking power thus rests on her Mercantile Marine. With the help of convenient bases in occupied countries, Hitler is striking at the British and Allied Mercantile Marine with the submarine and the long-range bomber, hoping thereby to paralyse the Empire's war effort. The Navy obviously cannot ensure full protection for all ships, and the losses have been somewhat high, but the Mercantile Marine carries on in spite of all difficulties.

Our Indian seamen have served in practically every theatre of war. Many are in ships carrying the vital supplies from Canada and the United States of America, and are to be found in all parts of the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans, and also in the Mediterranean. Some were in Malta during the heavy raids on that island, and some served in Greece.

MARSHAL CHIANG'S APPEAL TO INDIANS.
NO MIDDLE COURSE.
NO TIME TO WAIT.

"China and India comprise one half of the world's population. Their common frontier extends to 3,000 kilometres. In the two thousand years' history of their intercourse, which has been of a purely cultural and commercial character, there has never been an armed conflict. Indeed, nowhere else can one find so long a period of uninterrupted peace between two neighbouring countries.

"**This is irrefutable proof that our two peoples are peace-loving by nature. To-day, they have not only identical interests but also the same destiny. For this reason, they are in duty bound to side with the anti-aggression countries and to fight shoulder to shoulder to secure real peace for the whole world.**

RIGHTEOUSNESS.

"Moreover, our two peoples have an outstanding virtue in common, namely, the noble spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of justice and righteousness. It is this traditional spirit which should move them to self-negation for the salvation of mankind. It is also this spirit which has prompted China to be the first to take up arms against aggression and in the present war, to ally herself unhesitatingly with the anti-aggression countries not merely to securing her own freedom but also to secure justice and freedom for all man-kind.

"The present international situation divides the world into two camps, the aggression and the anti-aggression camps. All those who are opposed to aggression and are striving for the freedom of their country and man-kind should join the anti-aggression camp.

" There is no middle course and there is no time to wait for developments Now is the crucial moment for the whole future of mankind. The issue before us does not concern the dispute of any one man or country; nor does it concern any specific questions pending between one people and another.

A TURNING POINT.

" Any people, therefore, who joins the anti-aggression front may be said to co-operate not with any particular country, but with the entire front. This leads us to believe that the Pacific war is a turning point in the history of nationals.

" The present struggle is one between freedom and slavery, light and darkness, good and evil, resistance and aggression. Should the anti-aggression front lose the war, the civilization of the world would suffer a setback for at least one hundred years and there would be no end to human suffering.

JAPANESE ATROCITIES.

" So far as Asia is concerned, the cruelties committed by the Japanese militarists are beyond description. The sufferings and oppression, which have been the fate of the Formosans and Koreans since their subjugation by Japan should serve as a warning. As regards the barbarities committed by the Japanese army since our war of resistance, the fall of Nanking in Dec. 1937, is a case in point. Over 200,000 civilians were massacred within one week.

" For the last five years, the civilian population in Free China have been subjected, almost daily, to bombings from the air and bombardment by heavy artillery. In every place invaded by the Japanese troops, men, women and children were either assaulted or killed. Young men and educated people received their special attention with the result that men of intelligence and ideas have been tortured.

" Nor is this all. Institutions of culture, objects of historical interest and value, and even articles necessary for livelihood, such as cooking utensils, ploughs, tools and domestic animals have been either forcibly taken away or destroyed. In places under Japanese military occupation rape, rapine, incendiarism and murder are of frequent occurrence.

" Moreover they have with official connivance everywhere opened opium dens, gambling houses and houses of ill fame to sap the vitality of the people and destroy their spirit. Such is the disgraceful conduct of the Japanese, the like of which is not to be found in countries invaded by the other aggressor nations. What I have just said is but an inadequate description of the true state of affairs as reported by Chinese and foreign eye-witnesses ".

PRESS NOTE.

DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS WAR SUPPLIES.
SUCCESS OF INDIA'S BRAIN POWER.
NEED FOR FUTURE IDEAS AND INVENTIONS.

Of over one hundred indigenous suggestions received by the Supply Development Committee at General Headquarters in the past four months, seven are likely to be adopted in India while nine have been sent to England for further study.

This proportion of 14 per cent of potentially useful suggestion compares most favourably with the quarter per cent so far accepted by the Ministry of Supply from suggestions submitted by the people of Britain.

The Supply Development Committee was formed a few months ago to consider any inventions and suggestions designed to improve the equipment of the Army, Navy and Air Force and to increase the use of indigenous materials in their manufacture.

The closer approaches of war to India has more than ever emphasised the need for mobilising all the country's available material resources. There is likely to be a growing shortage as time goes on and it is in overcoming these shortages that individual ingenuity can help considerably by suggesting new materials and processes.

More suggestions and ideas of any kind are, therefore, invited by the Committee, with which is associated the eminent Indian scientist Sir S. S. Bhatnagar, Director of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research. The Committee will give help and guidance to any one with specialised knowledge who may desire to devote their experience to devising new methods and materials in aid of India's War effort.

PROGRAMME OF LECTURES

OF THE

Pudukkottai State War Information Bureau.

LECTURE LXXXIV—(*Batch 1*).

1942—

February	...28, Saturday ...	Town Hall	...	6.30 p. m.
March	... 1, Sunday ...	Puvarasakudi	...	6.00 p. m.
		Venkatakulam	...	6.30 p. m.
	2, Monday ...	Malampatti	...	6.00 p. m.
		Perambur	...	6.30 p. m.
	4, Wednesday	Udayalippatti	...	6.00 p. m.
		Killukottai	...	6.30 p. m.
	5, Thursday ...	Arimalam	...	6.00 p. m.
		Kilanilaikkottai	...	6.30 p. m.
	6, Friday ...	Tirumayyam	...	6.00 p. m.
		Melur	...	6.30 p. m.

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LECTURE LXXXV—(*Batch 2*).

March	... 7, Saturday ...	Town Hall	...	6.30 p. m.
	8, Sunday ...	Nachandupatti	...	6.00 p. m.
		Virachchilai	...	6.30 p. m.
	9, Monday ...	Vayalogam	...	6.00 p. m.
		Kudumiyamalai	...	6.30 p. m.
	10, Tuesday ...	Nallur	...	6.00 p. m.
		Mandaiyur	...	6.30 p. m.
	11, Wednesday	Panayappatti	...	6.00 p. m.
		Rangiyam	...	6.30 p. m.
	12, Thursday ...	Vengalur	...	6.00 p. m.
		Konapattu	...	6.30 p. m.
	13, Friday ...	Kodumbalur	...	6.00 p. m.
		Viralimalai	...	6.30 p. m.

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